583 For kidnapping the bride before the full payment of the kalym, from 1 to 3 toguz are exacted in addition to the kalym.

The groom sends one or several animals every year on the account of the kalym, animals which have been raised at home or bought for money he has earned. The bride waits from 12 to 20 years for the full payment but no longer.

If after this the groom acknowledges that he is unable to pay it all, they either forgive the remaining amount and marry the daughter to him, or keep another daughter for him who is younger and can still wait, and marry the other one to another. In extreme cases they give the groom back what has been received from him.

595 According to the Shariat, it is impossible to have more than four wives at the same time. The customary law does not limit the number of wives, for a wife is only a female, urgashi isebinde. /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Old Kirgiz woman of the Perovsk uyezd./ /85/ The man who has more than four wives lives conjugally only with the four married latest in time. The others become sufi, abstinent, and do not have marital relations (yatpeydi).

According to customary law, the husband of four wives should spend the night with each one in order. She whose turn it is to spend the night with him cooks the food. When there is a disagreement among the wives, the bii divides the dwelling quarters, all the utensils and even the animals (making earmarks) according to the number of wives. If one of them dies without children, the things entrusted to her are divided among the remaining wives (Perovsk uyezd).

The younger wives (tokal, or, more politely, kshi khatyn) show special respect to the oldest wife (baybishe). Otherwise they are all alike. The children of all the wives now have equal rights. [567] The children of slave women were without rights.

According to Umurbek, the baybishe can give orders to the younger wives and their children, if the latter are not greatly loved by the husband. If the children of the tokal are cleverer than the children of the baybishe, then they give them orders.

The agreement of the wives already married is not demanded for marrying another. They weep and wail (yilab syktab yuredi). Their displeasure is expressed in the words: 'did I not bear you a child,' etc. According to another report, they do ask the agreement of the wives.

765 The period of mourning of the widow (idda) lasts 40 days, according to the opinion of some biis, and according to other reports, 4 months and 10 days (for the childless 3 months). 587 A widow or divorcee

! [Not reproduced -- A.]

765 should not marry before this period of time has elapsed. E. A. Alek-
587 sandrov reports that the widow should not marry for a year. But, now, under the influence of the Shariat, the period of widowhood lasts 100 days.

The widower does not wear mourning, and his entrance into marriage is not restricted by a definite period of time.

587 The widow who wishes to marry (yesir) after the period of mourning (idda), must marry without fail the blood brother or /86/ closest kinsman of her husband, excluding his father, without a kalym. At the wedding they slaughter only one sheep. If she wishes to
589 remain a widow (tulkhatun), no one forces her into a second marriage. The reason for not marrying, for which they praise her - is not wishing to part with her children, who must remain in the house of the deceased. Then she continues to be considered the acquisition of the deceased and receives clothing and support in his house from the succession, even though she is childless. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, a widow who refuses to marry the brother of her late husband, remains the mistress of the property of the deceased husband only if she had children by him, and absolutely destines herself to be a widow. She is considered to be guardian of the sons until their majority. After that, even, after their majority she has full power to manage their property.

587 After the death of a middle brother, his wife goes to the older' and not to the younger brother, although usually the widows, preferring the younger, declare that the purely parental relations of the former brother-in-law (kaynaga) to them cannot be changed into marital relations. If in this case the older brother gives way to the younger one, he can insist on being given an atton /a horse and a coat/.

If the widow wishes to marry the son of the older brother, the younger brother will not agree to this, saying: I am senior to him in rank (yulym ulkun). Then the people can say to the older brother: If you do not marry her, because your wife does not agree to it, then your younger brother marries her. But let him give you an atton for seniority (yulyngdy kylsun). If the wife of the younger brother, learning of this, also raises a howl (uibui saldy), then he can fail to give this atton, and not marry the widow, but say to the son of the older brother: I give up my seniority to you, my child, (yulumdy balam sagan berdim). For his yielding he receives an atton from the latter.

An outsider, who wishes to receive the agreement of the rel-

764 gift. Praying with beads the mullah turns back one bead for every year of life, excluding the first 13 years of life, for a person does not commit sins until he is thirteen (gunaga batpaydy). Nothing is cooked in the house of the deceased person for five days, according to Mikebai, or 3 days, in the Auliye-Ata uyezd. The neighbors provide this house with food.

765 The kinsmen slaughter an animal and give a feast on the seventh, fortieth and hundredth day and on the anniversary of the death. On the seventh day the clothing of the deceased is given to the person who washed the body. Now on the advice of the mullahs, as Mikebai thinks, they have begun to give them on the day of the death.

764 Among the Kirgiz the married daughter comes to the funeral with her husband and father-in-law. If they live far away, they appear a month later. Their horses are tied up by outside persons of the village of the deceased. They say a prayer, like "God is great, may He have mercy" (Alla akbar rakhmet kylsyn). At the funeral they arrange a bayga but not kukbure. If the deceased was an old man, they also give out yirtich. The rich even give a long coat to each related lineage (uru). No food is cooked in the tent of the deceased for three days. The food is brought by the neighbors. If they wish to cook before the three days have elapsed, they must move the tent, even though it be for a short distance. Otherwise the angel of death [776] Azrail suffocates the deceased, and from this the tent becomes stained with blood and polluted (makrukh). The memorial service on the 765 seventh day is called khatmi kuran (the full reading through of the Koran). They slaughter an animal. The memorial service on the fortieth day is called kyrkach, and for this they slaughter a sheep or a mare. The memorial service on the anniversary of the death is called chungach (great feast). They slaughter many animals, arrange a bayga, throw a black kerchief into the fire and the black clothing of the widow, allowing her to marry. (1)

1. According to a communication of E. A. Aleksandrov, a black kerchief is set out on the tent of the deceased person for the course of a year.

764 /258/ Not all widows know how to lament, (1) and for this

1. When something is denied, they use the saying, taken from the denial of the wives of knowing how to lament: "I do not know laments; let the woman who knows laments have

764

her husband die" (yilaudy bil'meymen, yilau bii'gen khatynnyng bayi ul'sin).

reason wailing women (yilauker khatyn) are invited to the funeral. This woman never sits on the ground but on a bed or on something else. She supports herself with both hands at her sides and leans her body forward. Among the Kirgiz she must sit on the ground turning her back to the door. She leans her left arm on her left leg which is bent under, while the sole of her right foot is on the ground. The elbow of her right arm is on the knee of her right leg, supporting her cheek. Her lament concerns the activity, trade and wealth of the deceased. The woman who weeps for her husband wears a black kerchief on her head (kara yaulyk). A woman who weeps for another man, for example, for her son, wears a white kerchief. (2)

2. There are laments (zhylau) in Supplement No. 9.
1 [Not translated - A]

The kinsmen of a wealthy man spend up to 1000 tillias for the regalement of the people at the funeral and memorial services (assu, asatau). The poor spend less, depending on their means, but it is impossible to dispense with this ritual for shame before the people.

According to I. I. Ibragimov, (3) there are never sumptuous 765

3. "Ocherki byta kirgizoz" /Studies of the life of the Kazakhs/, Drevniaia i Novaia Rossiia, 1877, No. 9, p. 51.

memorial services for a woman. However, Torgai arranged a memorial service lasting three days with bayga for his grandmother (ul'kun sheshem). Although memorials come at all times of the year, they are often more gala (ul'kun as) in the autumn.

Poor people, arranging modest memorials (kichkine as), send a messenger (shakyrushi) on the very day of the memorial and invite people only for one day. Bayga can be arranged for this day, and a combat before the arrival of the race horses. A singer (dzhirchi) who is invited or comes of his own accord does not sing during the day, but only in the evening and at night.

The rich announce the event earlier and let people know the name of the place /259/ where the village is to be found, the day of the uchakkazu, on which it is customary to "dig hearths"; the day of malsoyu, on which they will slaughter; the day of as beru or batasynoku, on which there will be a feast and prayer, and finally the day of atchabu, the day of the races. In the summer each guest

765 tries to bring the best kumys /mare's milk/. The kinsmen bring gifts, aza. Tents are set up for the guests, 50 to 100 steps from the village, one for every lineage, since only the best people from each lineage come and spend the night. Those who do not find a place in the tent come in by turns for the regalement. At the memorials all the things of the deceased are hung up in the tent on ropes: clothing, saddle, whip, gun, as the appurtenance of mourning (tuldab kaydy), while the widow sits on a bed with her hair loose, surrounded by lamenting women. (According to I. I. Ibragimov and Torgai). They play on the zurna /type of oboe/ at memorials among the Kirgiz.

[764] A traveler who dies on the road is buried by passers by with a short prayer. If the kinsmen find the body of their relative, already decomposed, they scrape away the flesh with a knife, collect the bones in a sack, and carry them home, wash them, close them in a shroud, and bury them according to the ritual (Perovsk uyezd).

765 682 Guests who are returning from a funeral are called syuyakchi, in distinction from ordinary travelers (yulauchi). There is a larger fine imposed for harm of syuyakchi. If the attacker denies his attack, but there were other witnesses of this fact, for example, witnesses from among the other syuyakchi, the attack is then accepted as proof of guilt in the murder of the deceased, and no oath is required. But if the defendant does not deny the attack but does deny the murder, then an oath is customarily imposed on this matter.

However if there is no suspicion of murder and if the attacker does not succeed in taking anything and does not inflict any wounds, there is no suit on a general basis (Torgai).

According to bii Sultan, in case of only one attack without any other evidence, this cannot serve as proof of guilt of murder.

765 /260/ In the Perovsk uyezd the syuyakchi each bring a vessel (sava) of kumys with them to the funeral feast. Before their departure horse fat (kacy, kyuyumshak) is placed in their empty vessels, with the words: "so that your vessels will not be returned empty" (savangyz kuru kaytpasyn).

The host of the funeral celebration takes the role of a guest himself, giving the presiding place at the feast (zhyinding biiligi) to an aksakal or bii kinsman. The cooking and serving of the food is taken on by one young kinsman who is called tavakshi.

The graves of different clans are placed in the cemeteries (mazar, kurum).

The cemeteries are located on hills and high places with firm ground, where water from snow cannot destroy the graves. Over the

graves of the rich they build cells with a cupola and small minarets, with an enclosure. The clan brands are often carved on the tombstones.

The graves are usually visited on Thursday. When they reach home, they order the reading of the Koran.

/261/ Proverbs and Sayings (1) 539

1. In part directly collected by A. A. Divaev; in part borrowed from the chrestomathy of Liutsh and from Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia/Materials for the Statistics of the Turkestan Region/ (Pt. II, the article of I. I. Ibragimov).

1) He who has the khan as his protector does not think of riding around the country in a boat.

2) You cannot cover the mouths of the people with a sieve.

3) When the population is sparse, pigs get to the top.

4) An insult inflicted by an outsider is easier to bear than one received from one's own.

5) If a bad man is given power, the stick will never go away from your head.

6) If you have a good mallet you will even hammer a felt stake into the ground.

7) Every scholar has his mistake.

8) Oh! Even if I had millet and salt I would boil kasha, but it is unfortunate that there is no butter.

9) If you have not seen water, do not take off your boots.

10) Shame the miser for his generosity.

11) The wind smashes mountains and stones, while man is damaged by calumny.

12) He who has not experienced misfortune cannot appreciate tranquility.

[214 cont.]

X 648 obtain auxiliary troops in order to take vengeance against Barak
[664] for the assassination of his father. In his second request he asked that those Kazaks whom he described as men of evil intent and harmful to Russia should be arrested on the borders.

X 648 Barak or his successors and their followers would have failed
662 to escape the vengeance of Abulkhair's sons, no doubt, if they had received support in troops from Russia. But Nurali's exploits would not have ended there. He had planned to use the Russian troops against all his enemies, and especially against those princes of the Middle Horde who did not honor him and whom he wished to annihilate in order to subject their descent lines and tribes to his brothers, and then he would have made himself sole khan of both the Middle and the Little Hordes.

The second request, to arrest the Kazaks of evil intent on the Russian borders, also tended to the same end. He represented it as a necessary measure for the security of Russia, but ambition was its true motive.

On the one hand, the execution of this demand would have been really useful and indispensable for the Russians, for it would have made it possible to deliver into the hands of justice at least a part of the brigands, and, by adding to the power of the Khan,
[439] it would have given him new means of acting upon his people. But on the other hand, it could have been the source of an endless number of injustices and would have abolished the commercial exchange which was then just beginning to be established between the Russians and the Kazaks.

For these reasons, the Khan's first request was formally refused, and it was promised that the second would be considered.

X 648 Upon his departure from Orenburg, Nurali, in the name of
● [765] his brothers and his mother Papai, voiced the desire to have some great monument on his father's grave and requested 1,000 workers for 15 days for this end (1). This wish was nothing more than the

[114]

1. All the conversations which the khans had with the border commanders [215] were written down in journals which have been

[214 cont.]

preserved until today in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

result [215] of the vanity which is very common among the Kazaks. But since there was nothing harmful in it, Nepluev reported it to the higher authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only consented to satisfy the wish of Abulkhair's family, but even found that its execution would be useful, if Nurali consented to choose the site of the burial monument in the vicinity of the Russian border and to bring the body of his father there. Then a rule could be established of burying all the khans of the Little Horde there, and a city could be erected near the cemetery which Abulkhair himself had asked to be built. It was resolved, in accordance with these considerations, to yield to Nurali's wish, and a civilian official and an engineer sent from Orenburg announced to him the conditions under which this work had to be carried out. The official was told to invite Nurali to locate the site of the sepulcher three or four days' journey from the Russian border, above all on the Ilek River, and to associate a town with it. The engineer was ordered to examine the site, draw a map of it, and to make the façade of the monument.

This object gave rise to correspondence and conferences which went on for several years. Regulating itself according to circumstances and the conduct of the Khan, the Russian government showed itself sometimes ready and sometimes averse to carrying out his desire. Finally the project was relegated to oblivion, as we shall see below. The reasons for it were strong enough on both sides.

Nurali was afraid of establishing himself near the Russian military lines, and his subjects were against it. Thus the first response they gave as the choice of a site was too undecisive. Subsequently it was proposed to lay the foundation of the cemetery and build the town at the mouth of the Emba instead of on the Ilek River, but since this river too was near the border, and the Kazaks also feared to settle there (1), [216] the khan for the second

1. Second Lieutenant Rigelman, who went

X 648 765 [216 cont.]

with Nurali to make a definitive agreement [216] on the building of the funeral monument, reported that in order to dissuade their khan from approaching the Russian border, the Kazaks reminded him of the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and assured him that if the former nomadic residents of these cities had not settled at a fixed place their descendants would still be free today.

time was unable to give a positive answer. As for the site where Abulkhair had been buried, it lacked stone, lime, and construction timber. While these parleys were taking place, more important matters came up in the horde, and the desire felt by the Russian government to satisfy the request of Abulkhair's family grew weaker with time and circumstances. The map and the façade of the funeral monument made by the engineer and sent to Nurali are still preserved in the Orenburg archives though never executed.

X 648 [567] To the Khan's joy, Empress Elizabeth's cabinet and the border authorities at Orenburg claimed only one service. This was to give up the Russians who were languishing as slaves of the Kazaks, and he was sent a special letter patent to this effect from St. Petersburg. Nurali and his brothers pledged themselves to satisfy this most just request, but to do so was beyond the limits of their weak power, and the promise was without effect, like the hundreds or even thousands of similar demands and obligations repeated to this day by the border commanders. Nurali had scarcely returned to the auls from Orenburg when he received [584] ambassadors from the Djungarian kungtaidji, who had come in [501 583] accordance with the proposal made by his father before his death to ask for his sister in marriage for their sovereign, and [662 584] promised him the town of Turkestan in lieu of kalym /bride price/. It was difficult for him to form this alliance while

584 is only given an ordinary beating. From all
583 this one can see that the marriage consists of a civil agreement under a show of gifts, and both sides have almost an equal interest in conforming to it. But the real advantage goes to the bride's kinsmen who receive gifts and return nothing. Sometimes the bride is not given so informally to the groom, and she must be taken by force, and yet certain customs are observed in this case as well. After the final cohabitation, the newly-weds return home and are accompanied triumphantly, and then the celebrations begin at the groom's father's and at his expense. It is self-evident that the number of gifts and the elaborateness of the feasts are always in proportion to the means of both sides.

764 /344/ Burial. According to Kazakh custom the deceased is washed and dressed in his best clothing, and sometimes he is wrapped in a khalat. If a man has died, his wives are required to set up a terrible wail of despair and repeat this ceremony mornings and evenings for a year. In these cases the neighboring women never lag in visiting the one in mourning in order to wail with her to satiety. At the funeral the mullah reads prayers twice; at home, before the body is carried out, and at the actual burial. They dig a pit with a wooden floor for the deceased, or they place him at the side of the main pit. Graves are usually on elevations, and over them they make memorials of wood, stone, clay or earth, sometimes in the form of buildings with a round cupola and turrets. It is remarkable that very often the Kazakhs depart in this case from the Moslem rules and make images of animals and people in these tombs. Of course, at the burial there is usually a feast for the guests, but the

52
55

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [796] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the 526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this 524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

7 4 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey